B
439
648

The court found him guilty, and the poor boy is now carrying out his sentence in the penal institution of Bahia.

The other Indians immediately abandoned the trading post. It is now four years since they regained their freedom at a time when they least expected it, and the heroic child who broke their fetters lies forgotten in prison, away from his people, and not yet of age. [159]

XXIX

I return from the maloca of Necodemos to the headwaters of the Cadereri -- The cry of the anhangá -- Farewell.

M
484

When the day of my departure finally came, I went from house to house and took leave of the inhabitants of Necodemos.

M
[471]

At this time thirteen Mundurucu, among them the boy who gave me the Parintintin head, seized their bows and arrows and prepared to go with me, although they had told me nothing of their decision. I must confess that I was not in the least eager to travel for eight days in the company of these barbarians through dense and deserted jungles; I was hoping instead that they would remain peacefully in their molaca.

I told them that I had no more flour or other supplies, and that it would be impossible for the twenty-odd men we would number to walk that far without provisions.

But this matter was of no concern to them; they merely prepared to take with them a few sweet potatoes, which at best would suffice for a frugal luncheon.

In fact I do not know exactly what these men ate during the journey. They were constantly hunting, catching birds and lizards and gathering wild fruits on which they fed.

M
[515]

Every once in a while we would come upon a limpid and delightful stream, and the savages never missed the opportunity to leap into the fresh waters, unfettered as they were with the task of undressing and dressing again. At night we would all gather at the sound of the horn, and we always stopped by a [160]

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

609 Madeira and the Xingú are not *pariwat* to the Tapajós Mundurucú; they are *bari'pnyc*, "relatives", as explained previously.

The Brazilians are called Baracereru. They are held in esteem, as are also the Parowat, the inhabitants of Belém do Pará, and the Biudecaneruwat, the inhabitants of the capital. The "Cearenser" [people of Ceara ?], the Carawat, known as "Messerhelden" have a bad reputation. The *judeu'nyc*, the Jews, are hated, as having [731] treated the Mundurucú very badly; after a certain Jew brought in measles on the Cururu and the Barra in 1826, starting an epidemic to which a large number of Mundurucú and Apaicá fell victims, friendship became definitely a thing of the past.

Some Notes on General Culture

241 The basis of the economic life of the Mundurucú is hoe culture. They maintain that formerly manioc and all other domesticated plants were unknown among them and that they used to obtain their food supply solely through hunting and through gathering [411] wild fruits. In their hunting they use arrows made of single [231] pieces of wood. The Mundurucú never kills his domestic animals, [223] but he will partake of such meat if another has it at hand. The 261 wild fruits are gathered by the women. Shortage of food can easily prevail, but is not the rule. If meat and fish are lacking, there are wild fruits and the products of the gardens. For the rest, the Mundurucú endures enforced fast with stoic patience without indulging in futile complaints.

542 The Mundurucú remember well the time when they used huts with conical roofs. These huts have now been superseded by quadrangular ones with the corners almost always rounded off.

776 The Mundurucú have a very clear and sharply defined belief in a Supreme Being. He is called Karusakaibé, and appears to have been a historical personage. He is prayed to; I have gathered a collection of such prayers. More about him will appear infra.

562 More too will be said below about social organization as it prevails among the Mundurucú, which topic is a chief one of the present paper. The foregoing summary data are given merely as a background. As regards social organization we may however premise here that the man holds a position of predominance among the Mundurucú. Nevertheless the woman is decidedly respected. [855] On the part of both man and woman, love for the child is marked.

1 [See errata sheet, Category 116, p.57 — A. — Analyst]

411 They make
their weapons with great care: the war club (macana, cuidaruz), the lance (uba cacahi) with a tip of bamboo (tacoara), the javeline (casp), and the bow which is difficult to draw (tarõ) with which they shoot not only u poisoned hunting arrows (pangnie, or uup, tupi viba) but poison[ed] war arrows (obram) as well. To protect against wounds from the bow string they wind a uitotap, a cotton bandage, around the wrist. The use of arrow [389] poison seems to have been learned only recently. They do not make it themselves but get it in trade from their northern neighbors.*

*Milliet Diccionario geograph. II. 136 and Cerqueira e Silva Corograf. paraënse 118, attribute to them also the blowgun (esgravatana) used with poisoned arrows.

237 The Mundrucus are great artists in the manufacture of feather orna-
287 ments. Their creations belong to the most elegant and the most labori-
292 ous products of Indian industry: scepters (buta) carried on festive occasions in the hand; stiff, cylindrical bunches of feathers; arm ornaments (bombim manja); hats (akeri) often outfitted with long braids of arara feathers (akeri kaha); cords and tassels with arara feathers (paro-oara) which they wear at dances over the shoulders like a mantilla. They use feathers also as articles of trade. The feathers are carefully sorted, tied together or fastened together with black wax and stored in baskets or in tubular palm leaf stems. They keep many live birds for
231 their trade. They compete with the Apiacas in fowl breeding. Besides the domestic chicken mutums or hoccos (Crax) their fowl yards have the Jacus (Penelope), the king and the white vulture (Cathartes papa and Falco urubutinga), the red and blue ara and many parrots. It is claimed that they regularly pluck the feathers of parrots and then dab the wounded areas with frog blood until the feathers growing back in change color: from green to yellow.

724 To maintain the great muscular strength which distinguishes them,
276 the Mundrucu avoid the use of tucupy, the concentrated sap of the poisonous manioc root seasoned with spanish pepper, to which other Indians are addicted. [390] Similarly they have not taken up the use of parica, a snuff made of the seed of the Mimosa acaiodes, which is in
000 vogue among the Muras and among their neighbors the Maues. But they

304 Hartt and Martius both mention tattooing combs of palm thorns, but Tocantins states that the operation is performed with an agouti tooth. The skin is slashed and genipa juice is rubbed into the wound. Genipa is also [302] used as a paint to color areas enclosed by tattooed lines. Both sexes are tattooed but there are slight differences in design for each. The operation begins when the subject is about 8 years old and proceeds gradually over a period of years. It is seldom completed before the subject has reached the age of 20.

302 **Hairdress.**—The aboriginal hair style was the same for both sexes. The hair was cut just above the ears and at the nape of the neck. The crown of the head was shaved but a short, circular tuft was left above the center of the forehead.

MANUFACTURES

283 285 **Baskets, ropes, and netting.**—Baskets are woven of creepers, straw, and twigs. Ropes and cords are made of plant fibers and cotton thread. Women beat the raw cotton with sticks to separate the fibers and twist the thread with the aid of some sort of spindle. Cotton thread is used in [286] knitting net fabrics for featherwork, and in making hammocks. Fibers from the outer surface of muritĭ palm leaves are sometimes used in making hammocks.

323 **Ceramics.**—Pottery vessels, made by women, are modeled directly from a mass of clay and are said to be of poor quality.

411 **Weapons.**—The following weapons have been mentioned but not described: Bows, arrows of reed and of wood, poisoned war arrows, unpoisoned hunting arrows (Martius, 1867), spears with bamboo blades, javelins, wooden knives, hafted (stone?) axes, and war clubs. A cotton bandage was wrapped around the knuckles of the bow hand to protect it from the bowstring. Katzer (1901) has published illustrations of a [172] number of flat, polished stone ax heads, of oval or nearly quadrangular shape, with lateral notches; these were found archeologically in *Mundu-* [324] *rucú* territory. He reports that the *Mundurucú* still make such stone objects, but keep them merely as valuables or as children's toys.

TRADE

439 Despite hostility between the *Mundurucú* and their neighbors, they traded their featherwork extensively. They are said to have depended on an unidentified northern source for arrow poison. After the advent of the missions, manioc meal, sarsaparilla, and other forest products were exported to Santarém in considerable quantities (Martius, 1867).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 611 According to Kruse (1934), the Tapajóz River *Mundurucú* have a patrilineal sib and moiety system. There are 34 sibs whose members are

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the equipment of the men, except for their arms, thus leaving the males unencumbered for hunting and fighting. They also cooked, fetched water and firewood and performed other female services. Contrary to Spix and von Martius' (1831:1313) assertion that the women helped on the battlefield, informants said that the women were always left at a safe distance from the scene of combat. The men then proceeded to encircle the enemy village under cover of darkness.

No warfare rituals were held prior to the departure of the expedition, but the most powerful shaman available always accompanied the war party and throughout the course of march was able to ascertain events in the enemy village by sending one of his instruments abroad to spy upon the foe. Once the village had been encircled, the shaman blew ant-eater hair or macaw feathers in the direction of the houses in order to put the enemy into a deep sleep. Eagle feathers were similarly directed at the village in the belief that this would cause the defenders to become confused and impotent in the face of attack.

When the occupants of the village were benumbed, the warriors waited for the cry of a species of bird that breaks into song at dawn. When this signal was heard, the chiefs sounded blasts on their horns and cried the order to attack. Incendiary arrows, made by affixing dried corn-cobs to the end of the arrow shaft, were ignited and loosed at the thatch roofs of the houses. The Mundurucú then broke from cover and dashed into the clearing of the enemy village, emitting wild shouts calculated to terrify the people. Adult males and females were killed and decapitated, and prepubescent children of both sexes were captured by the attackers. The Mundurucú then beat a hasty retreat before the enemy could reorganize his forces and summon additional support.

The retiring Mundurucú force drove its captive children ahead hurriedly and stopped at the temporary shelter only long enough to pick up the women and supplies. They then made a day and night forced march until they had reached a safe distance from the enemy. At this point, the expedition turned toward home or, frequently, to new fields of conquest.

A central object of the raid was the taking of enemy heads, and a strict protocol was observed in the preparation of the trophies. After killing an enemy man or woman, the warrior quickly decapitated the corpse. The spine was severed at the foramen magnum, but the skin was cut around the chest, shoulders, and back to leave a substantial flap below the point of severance. The excess skin compensated for the inevitable shrinkage that accompanied desiccation. A piece of wood was then thrust into the mouth of the trophy to prevent its locking closed in rigor mortis. During the return march the head was preserved by removing the brains, boiling it, and then drying it near a bonfire.

The war party broke up after reaching Mundurucú country, and the participants proceeded to their respective villages. Signals were sounded on horns a short distance outside the villages, and two messengers were sent to inform the people of the results of the raid. The boys of the community went to meet the waiting warriors and received the trophy heads from them. They ran

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Whereas it is possible for only one to three men to hunt other species of animals, the entire male population of one or two villages is needed for profitably hunting wild pig. This animal always travels in large bands of at least twenty and up to one hundred. Under these circumstances a single hunter can kill only one or, at best, two pigs before stampeding the herd, but a large group of men can surround the animals and obtain a food supply sufficient for two or three days. Tapir, wild pig, and deer are also more effectively hunted in groups, not only because of the advantages of the ambush, but because an arrow wound is frequently not fatal; if there are two or three hunters, the possibility of successfully dispatching the animal is thereby improved.

The increased use of firearms is highly significant in this regard. Even a ball from a muzzle-loading shotgun has greater range and velocity than an arrow. The lower power of the arrow is especially noticeable at longer distances, for its large surface area causes it to be considerably slowed by air friction. Besides, the bullet has greater stopping power. This is important, for wild pig and tapir frequently run for hours with two or three arrows in their bodies. In the village of Cabruá, the men owning firearms frequently hunted deer and tapir alone, while those using bows and arrows depended on their companions for added firepower and the opportunity to mount ambushes from which the animals could be shot at close range. Since firearms are still scarce in the savannah villages, collective hunting patterns remain relatively undisturbed, and the hunt may be considered a cohesive factor in village life.

FISHING

Fishing is secondary in importance to hunting in the subsistence economy of the savannah villages, but the Mundurucú who have moved to the shores of the larger